

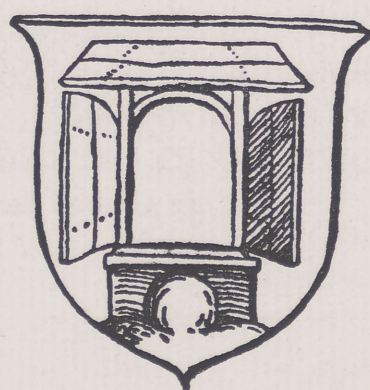
THE  
DÜRER SOCIETY

EIGHTH SERIES



WITH INTRODUCTORY NOTES BY CAMPBELL DODGSON

GUSTAV PAULI AND S. MONTAGU PEARTREE



LONDON

MDCCCCV



"Nürnberg's Hand  
"Geht durch alle Land"

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## PAINTINGS.

### I.

#### A. DÜRER. Albrecht Dürer the Elder.

*From the painting in the National Gallery, formerly in the possession of Charles I. (51 by 40.5 cm., 20 by 16 in.). Photogravure by Mr. Jarl Waddington from a negative by the Autotype Company.*



THE history of this picture, and of its various copies, has been so exhaustively dealt with in former publications of the Dürer Society (IV., p. 7, and V., p. 4), in the *Athenæum*, January 9th and February 6th, 1904, on the occasion of its exhibition at Burlington House, and in the *Burlington Magazine* for August and September, 1904, at the time of its purchase for the National Gallery, that only a short recapitulation of the recent discussion of its authenticity is required here.

For many years past the public galleries of Munich<sup>1</sup> and Frankfurt have each possessed portraits of the elder Dürer, which their official catalogues, and the general consensus of writers upon the subject, admit to be copies of no great exactitude. Thausing, and others who followed him, held that the original painting was in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland at Syon House, but Dr. Friedländer, in 1896, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xix., p. 12), and, following him, Dr. Weizsäcker, in 1900 (*Catalog des Städelschen Instituts*, p. 94), maintained that this picture was also a copy, a view that was confirmed on its publication in photogravure by the Dürer Society in 1901 (IV., pl. I.).

In January, 1904, the picture, of which Plate I. in this year's issue is a reproduction, was contributed to the Winter Exhibition of the Royal Academy by its then owner, the Marquess of Northampton, into whose possession it had come by inheritance from the late Dowager Louisa, Lady Ashburton. It was at once hailed as by far the best version of the portrait in existence, and the only serious objection to its claim to be considered the original work of Dürer's hand was found in the absence of the rhymed inscription displayed by the Munich copy. Dr. Friedländer had argued that as this portrait was a pendant to that of Dürer himself now at Madrid (Dürer Society, V., pl. II.), it would, if it ever came to light, be found to bear an analogous inscription in verse. In the strict sense of the term, however, these two pictures are not companion pieces, although the fate which brought them from the Nuremberg Rathaus to the Royal Palace of Whitehall, and then parted them so irrevocably, may be held to have made them such for our imagination. A more convincing objection to Dr. Friedländer's theory is that the Munich inscription when examined with care is seen to be a misleading, and even a ridiculous, compilation. It runs literally:—

1497. DAS MALT ICH NACH MEINES VATTERS GESTALT  
DA ER WAR SIBENZICH JAR ALT.

ALBRECHT DÜRER DER ELTER.

followed by the usual monogram. The absurd statement that Dürer the Elder had painted his father's (*i.e.*, the artist's grandfather's) portrait cannot possibly have appeared upon Dürer's own painting. It is probably a concoction of the Munich copyist, working at a time when the National Gallery and the Madrid pictures hung side by side in Nuremberg. He imitated, badly enough, the Madrid verses, and then added the third line, taking its wording from the sixteenth century inscription above the old man's head, but adopting the initial D, which Dürer himself usually employed, in place of the TH of his model.<sup>2</sup>

Herewith falls away the entire structure upon which was built the expectation that the original, when it came to light, would show a rhyming inscription, and we are left free to judge the work upon its merits. I have had the opportunity, during the last two years, of examining, under favourable conditions, the whole of Dürer's known paintings, previous to 1500, with two exceptions, as well as a very considerable number of the earlier copies from them, and also a quantity of those made from the

<sup>1</sup> The Munich picture is now at Burghausen.

<sup>2</sup> On the varying use of D and TH by the artist himself, his father, and his brother Andreas, see the *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. V., pp. 433 and 572. The spelling "Thürer" is found on the first edition of the woodcut, "The Triumphal Car of the Emperor Maximilian," which was issued by Dürer himself in 1522.



artist's later pictures. With these reasonably fresh in my recollection, I find no difficulty in regarding this picture as having been produced by Dürer's own hand at the date it bears. It is the most complete example of the struggle to force two opposing principles into harmony, to compel a calligraphic method of execution to serve the purpose of actually visualising natural appearances. This strife of principles has perhaps injured the pictorial character of the work, if we may take the adverse opinions expressed by one or two eminent critics as an index; but we ought not to regard this æsthetic deficiency, if it exist, as evidence against the authenticity of the painting.<sup>1</sup>

The medium in which the picture is executed is oil, but the mode in which it is applied is derived from the practice of the *tempera* painter. Modelling is obtained, not by the juxtaposition of certain masses of pigment duly fused together, but by parallel hatchings, with super-imposed markings in line, the whole, of course, executed in oil paint. These "lines" have the instantaneousness and personal character which are rightly regarded by all students as the sure marks of genuineness in the drawings of this period. It is inconceivable that any contemporary could, or that any subsequent imitator should, have reproduced this peculiar technique. Those who still incline to maintain that this picture is a copy, should point out, among the hundreds of imitations scattered through the European galleries, one in which these characteristics of manner and process have survived in an equal degree.

It is unnecessary to deal here with the arguments founded upon externals by means of which it was endeavoured to invalidate the claims of this picture to be Dürer's. I may, however, add the following to the examples already cited elsewhere of the use of red backgrounds to portraits during the last quarter of the fifteenth century:—Heinrich zum Jungen, in the Municipal Museum, Frankfurt; Erzherzog Sigismund, No. 153 in the Augsburg Gallery; an "Old Man," dated 1487, No. 137 in the Germanic Museum, Nuremberg; and Conrad Imhof, 1486, in the Bavarian National Museum at Munich. (See also the description of the Oelhafen portrait, *infra*, Plate IV.)

The interest which this keen representation of a careworn old craftsman arouses is heightened by the references to his father which have survived in Dürer's notes. Even more interesting than these is a letter from the old man himself, addressed during a temporary absence from Nuremberg to his wife, which has, I think, never yet been printed in English. It is said to have been discovered behind the panelling of the house, No. 493 "unter der Vesten," which was purchased by the goldsmith, and belonged after his death to his famous son. This curious relic is now in the Germanic Museum, and was published by Dr. Hans Boesch in 1883.<sup>2</sup> It is dated, "lincz an sant barthalameus tag 92 jar," *i.e.*, August 24th, 1492, and may be Englished as follows:—

"My friendly greeting firstly to my dear Barbara. I let you know that with pain and trouble I did get to Linz on Sunday before Saint Bartholomew, very late. And on Monday, after dinner, my gracious lord sent at once for me, and I had to unpack the pictures for his grace and he had a great liking for them, and his grace had much to say to me, and when I was to take leave of his grace then he came to me himself and pressed (four)<sup>3</sup> florins in my hand and said to me, 'my goldsmith, get to your inn, and make good cheer.' Since then I have not been to his grace but Stephen and —ret<sup>3</sup> have given me good hope, and so I must wait to take leave, then I hope very soon to be with you. God help me with love home again. Now no more. Greet all the house-fellows from me very much, and speak to the journeymen that they work hard.<sup>3</sup> I will reward them for it. And take care of the children, and tell them to be good. Given at Linz on St. Bartholomew's day, in the year 1492.

"ALBRECHT TÜRER."

On the outside is the address, as follows:—

"To the honoured dame Barbara  
Dürer the goldsmith's wife<sup>4</sup>  
in Nuremberg, to my dear  
housewife is this letter to go."

S. M. P.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Artur Weese for the information that the late Adolf Bayersdorfer, Conservator of the Munich Pinakothek, saw the portrait while it was in the possession of Lady Ashburton, and expressed his belief that it was the long-missing original.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Zeitschrift für bild. Kunst*, XVIII., p. 374. The story of the find has all the romance of the "antichità" shop, but I am not aware that the genuineness of the letter has ever been called in question.

<sup>3</sup> The original is imperfectly legible at these points.

<sup>4</sup> The quaint form, "türerin goldschmidin," of the original is unfortunately untranslatable.



II.

DÜRER. Portrait of a Girl (Die Fürlegerin). 1497.

*Photogravure by Messrs. Braun, Clément et Cie., from the picture in the possession of M. Heugel.*

The sitter, a young girl, is seen to the waist, behind a stone parapet. She wears a red dress widely opened to show the neck and shoulders, under this appears a white under-garment, bordered by a dark band bearing the letters K. T. A. T. D. T. D. T. E. T. W. T. Her hair, of a golden brown hue, is bound round her head in large plaits, through which a narrow red ribbon is twisted; and is further ornamented by two narrow circlets of pearls. In her right hand she holds sprays of two different flowers, one of which is the eryngium. A distant landscape is seen through a window on the left, in the jamb of which is a statute holding an open book. In the right hand upper corner, a *cartellino* bears an inscription which is now only partly legible. The words ". . . . .gestalt . . . . .jar alt . . . . .97" may be deciphered; the original was probably

Also bin ich gestalt  
Bin achtzehn jar alt

1497

Although the exact form remains uncertain owing to the obvious corruptions existing in both the copies specified below.

The first evidence we possess of the existence of this early work of Dürer is to be found in an etching by Wenzel Hollar (Parthey, No. 1536), reproduced on Plate III.A. This bears, at the foot of the plate, an inscription stating that the original was then, 1646, in the possession of the Earl of Arundel. As that nobleman, during his political mission to Germany ten years before this date, had spent a considerable period of time at Nuremberg in the inspection and purchase of works of art,<sup>1</sup> it is not unreasonable to infer that he then acquired this picture and its companion piece, another portrait of the same person, but differing from it in composition, costume, and especially in the fact that the hair is represented as flowing loose over the sitter's shoulders, instead of being bound in complicated plaits around her head. This also is known to have been in the Earl's possession by the inscription on another of Hollar's etchings (Parthey, No. 1535). The two pictures appear to have been in Antwerp at the time the prints were executed, both the Earl and his engraver having fled from England to avoid the troubles consequent on the great Civil War. Although precise details are lacking, it is known that the dispersal of the Arundel collections began at an early date, and it is possible that neither of these pictures was brought back to England when the Earl returned from exile.

In 1691 two portraits by Dürer, which were framed together, but are not otherwise described, are mentioned in an inventory of the collection belonging to the Bishop of Olmütz in Moravia.<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Liechtenstein began to acquire works of art soon after his election to the bishopric in 1664, in order to make good the losses occasioned by the plundering of his residence during the Thirty Years' War. In spite of the bareness of the description, we may suspect these "2 Contrafeen von Alberto Thürr Hinter Einen glass" to have been the two pictures engraved by Hollar; for, according to Thausing, who did not know of the above-mentioned inventory, which had not then been published, two similar portraits were purchased (before 1849) by C. Waagen, a Munich dealer, from the Prince-Bishop's palace at Olmütz. These were sold, one (the subject of our present note) to Mr. Wynn Ellis,<sup>3</sup> the other to the Staedel Institute at Frankfurt. This account is confirmed by the particulars given in the 1900 Catalogue of the last-mentioned gallery.

As is well-known, Mr. Wynn Ellis, in 1876, left his entire collection to the National Gallery. The directors of that institution, however, were only prepared to accept about one-fourth of the bequest thus offered to them. Among the rejected works was the Arundel "Girl's portrait with the plaited hair" of 1497. This picture was then purchased by Sir J. C. Robinson, and, after some further vicissitudes, has recently passed, at a considerable price, into the collection of M. Henri Heugel, of Paris, to whose great courtesy, and personal interest in the matter, we owe the opportunity of presenting this plate to the members of the Society.

<sup>1</sup> *Archivvalische Zeitschrift*, Neue Folge, XI. Band. 1904. pp. 100-117.

<sup>2</sup> *Mittheilungen der K.K. Central Commission*, etc. Vienna. 1888. p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> W. Bell Scott (*Dürer; his Life and Works*, 1869, p. 272) states that "Mr. Ellis purchased the picture from the well-known dealer, Mr. T. B. Brown."



The inscriptions beneath Hollar's etchings do not in either case mention the name of the sitter, but G. W. Panzer, in his *Verzeichnis von Nürnbergischen Portraits aus allen Staenden* (1790), identified the arms seen in the background as those of the Fürleger family. In this he was undoubtedly correct; but the further assumption that the series of letters embroidered on the hem of the chemise in the "plaited hair" portrait was to be read as indicating the name "Katharina" is entirely unfounded. Lettering, as a method of ornamenting dress, especially that of women, is frequent throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but only in a very small minority of examples is the name of the sitter intended to be thereby indicated. Such inscriptions are frequently mere patterning, or they may be formed of the initial letters of a "Sinnspruch" or motto. In another of Dürer's portraits, painted two years later than the one we are now discussing, Felicitas Tucher wears an ornament composed of the initials of her husband's name, and Elspeth Tucher, at Cassel, in addition to a similar ornament has on her bodice the W.W. which so strangely misled Thausing into thinking of Wolgemut as the painter. An even greater difficulty in accepting the name currently given to our picture is that no member of the Fürleger family at this date was called Katharina. The Germanic Museum at Nuremberg possesses considerable genealogical material concerning this family, and I am indebted to Dr. Th. Hampe, its courteous librarian, both for facilitating the investigation of it, and for himself controlling the result of my examination. The nearest approach to the personage required is a certain Katharina Herdegen, whose mother was Ursula Fürlegerin, deceased in 1517. The heraldic customs of the time do not, however, lend the slightest warrant to the supposition that she could be represented here, and we must resign ourselves to the definite abandonment of the name.

The long seclusion of this picture has hindered its due appreciation by those who have hitherto written on Dürer's paintings. Von Eye did not know of its existence; Thausing, although he mentions it contemptuously as a possibly spoilt original, does not seem to have seen it. In any case, his unfortunate views as to Dürer's youthful development, which led him to regard the neat, dull, flat, and spiritless Augsburg copy of the Frankfurt "flowing hair" portrait as an original, would have hindered him from admitting its claims to genuineness. Thode, in Vol. XII. of the *Jahrbuch der k. preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, at last did the work justice, and pointed out that the material (fine linen) upon which it was painted, and its method of execution in *tempera*, showed that it was a pendant to the Frankfurt picture, with which it also agrees in its pedigree, and in the closeness of its relation to the Hollar prints.

Just as the Staedel "flowing hair" portrait has its hard and graceless imitation at Augsburg, so M. Heugel's picture can be recognised as the original of a careful, but too highly modelled version of the same composition in the gallery of Baron Speck von Sternburg at Lützschena, near Leipzig (see Plate III. B.). This agrees with its Augsburg congener in being painted on panel, as well as in the thinness and smoothness of its technique, in the omission of the Fürleger arms, in the shape of the A.D. monogram introduced by the copyist (no genuine monogram exists on either of the originals), and in showing a series of slight differences when compared with Hollar's etchings.<sup>1</sup> It deserves, however, as a work of art to be preferred to its companion piece. The straightforward presentment of character in the Heugel portrait gave less scope to the sentimentality of the copyist than did the folded hands and inclined head of the Staedel version. I even venture to think that Dürer himself would have left us a more charming work if the mode of thought of his day in such matters had suggested to him, when painting this second version, to represent his well-favoured model with all the expression,—half vivacity, half embarrassment,—which is likely to have characterized her when she found herself in such unaccustomed disarray in the presence of the "haarig, bartig," but undoubtedly good-looking painter.

Nor is this spontaneity of conception the only advantage which the less devotional Paris version has over the "Girl with folded hands." It has suffered many and clumsy retouches, especially to the mouth, nose, and right eye, but these have fortunately been carried out in a medium more akin to the *tempera* process in which the picture was executed than are the layers of oil paint and varnish which cover parts of the Frankfurt canvas.<sup>2</sup> Enough of the original surface remains to show Dürer's handiwork

<sup>1</sup> The tall, thin trees on the left are an introduction by the Lützschena copyist. There is no trace of them on M. Heugel's canvas, and they are not to be seen in Hollar's print. They are, moreover, quite unlike Dürer's trees at this period; compare the backgrounds of the Weimar and Cassel portraits, and that of the Oswolt Krell (Portfolio VII., Plate II.). The ornamental lettering above mentioned is identical in the Heugel and Hollar versions (twelve letters); it is reduced at Lützschena to one-half (six letters).

<sup>2</sup> Sir J. C. Robinson, the former owner of the picture, has very kindly given me an account of its condition while in his possession. It appears to have been, at one time, in a worse state than the picture at Frankfurt now is. It is clear that a very thorough and skilful cleaning had been carried out before M. Heugel acquired the portrait. The repainting with oil pigment, while very harmful to the appearance of the work, had the advantage that it was possible to remove it by solvents which did not touch the original *tempera*. The amount of this repainting was great, and its quality bad, which perhaps accounts for Dr. Weiszäcker's unfavourable opinion (*Catalog des Städtischen Instituts*, 1900, p. 97). I have been unable to find any confirmation of his further statement that this picture was at any time in the collection of Sir Francis Cook at Richmond.



to the eye trained to look for it. The date and the material at once suggest a comparison with two other *tempera* paintings on linen of the same early period, the Frederick of Saxony at Berlin, and the Madonna bending over the Holy Child at Dresden. The authenticity of neither of these can be impugned, and the theory which assigned another author and date to the latter picture no longer enjoys the support even of its own propounder.<sup>1</sup> Such a comparison is entirely favourable to the view here taken that M. Heugel's picture is the original work of Dürer's hand, and that the date it bears is that of the year in which it was produced.

Finally, it remains to be mentioned that some authorities have seen another portrait of the same person in the study of a head, full-face, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.<sup>2</sup> At the first glance this appears to represent a considerably older woman. It is possible, however, that this impression would be modified if the hair, which is now scarcely visible, were more clearly indicated. The features bear, in detail, a resemblance to the so-called Katharina Fürlegerin, and it is therefore surprising, if she really is the sitter, that Dürer should have omitted to render the most striking ornament of her person. This, together with the symmetrical frontal view and almost forced regularity of feature, suggests that this painting is another instance of a series of studies to which Dr. Ludwig Justi has called attention in his *Konstruirte Figuren und Köpfe unter den Werken A. Dürer's*. In these Dürer has reconstructed, in accordance with a theory of fixed proportions, heads which he had previously portrayed in strict imitation of their individual peculiarities.

S. M. P.

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### III. A.

#### WENZEL HOLLAR. Portrait of a Girl. Parthey, No. 1536.

This is a collotype reproduction of the etching by Hollar, dated 1646, from the portrait at that time in the possession of the Earl of Arundel. As is mentioned above, it agrees in every essential feature with M. Heugel's picture wherever that differs from the Lützschen copy. As the plate was etched directly from the original, it of course shows every detail in reverse, with the exception of the inscriptions. The false monogram in the open book, held by the figure in the window-jamb, was already in existence when Hollar did his work.

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### III. B.

#### AFTER DÜRER. Portrait of a Girl.

*Collotype from a copy of the picture by Dürer, in the Collection of Baron Speck von Sternburg, at Lützschena. Oil painting on panel (59 by 43 cm., 21½ by 16 inches).*

This copy has already been discussed in my comments on M. Heugel's picture. It belonged to Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, from whose possession it passed, by exchange, into the hands of Conseiller Burtin, of Brussels. The first Baron Speck von Sternburg acquired it in 1816.

The copyist has modified the inscriptions, and has left out the shield containing the Fürleger arms. A similar omission is found in the Augsburg copy of the Frankfurt picture, and raises the question of Dürer's responsibility for this detail. Neither the shape of the shield, nor the method of its introduction, suggest his manner of employing heraldic ornament. No other early portrait (and, indeed, very few even of his later time) displays the arms of the personage represented. I may quote, as examples of this, Frederick the Wise, the three Tucher portraits, Oswolt Krell, and the various likenesses of the artist himself and of his father. In some cases the arms of the sitters were painted on

<sup>1</sup> See Professor H. Wölfflin's attack on the attribution of the Dresden triptych to Dürer in the Prussian *Jahrbuch*, 1904, p. 196, and his recantation in the new Dresden *Jahrbuch*, 1905, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Riehl-Soldan, No. 19. It should be noted that all the reproductions in this work from originals belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale are reversed.



the reverse of the panels (Weimar, Uffizi), in others the portrait was preserved in a hanging case, and the arms appeared on the outside of the lid, or door (Oswolt Krell). When this mode fell into disuse these cases were in most instances destroyed, and the arms may then have been transferred to the background.

A portrait of a young girl, of the school of Cranach, in the Bavarian National Museum at Munich, bears the Fürleger arms, on a shield dependent, as here, from a nail, by means of a strap; it shows the same curious error in the perspective of these details as that seen in the Frankfurt and Heugel pictures.

S. M. P.

#### IV.

##### AFTER DÜRER. Portrait of Sixtus Oelhafen.

*Collotype from the painting on panel (43 by 30 cm., 17 by 11½ in.) in the University Collection, Würzburg.*

Sixtus Oelhafen, a Government official of high standing under Frederick III., Maximilian I., and Charles V., was born at Nördlingen about 1466. He began his career in the service of the Archbishop-Elector of Mainz, and passed thence into the Imperial Chancellery. His "diligence and pleasing manners" are recorded to have helped him to rapid promotion, and in 1489 he received a patent of nobility from the Emperor Frederick. Maximilian bestowed further titles upon him, and in 1496 granted to him the apparently esteemed privilege of sealing with red wax. It is therefore not surprising that an offer made a few years later by the Nuremberg Town Council to take him into their service as *Losungs-schreiber* did not meet with acceptance. He appears, nevertheless, to have resided mainly at Nuremberg, where, in 1501, he married Anna, the sister of Melchior Pfinzing, Provost of St. Sebald and chief author of the *Tewdannck*. A numerous company of princes, including three Electors of the Holy Roman Empire, and many other prelates and nobles, was present at the ceremony, and the Archbishop of Mainz defrayed the entire cost of the marriage-feast.<sup>1</sup> The presence of these great personages was occasioned by the first meeting of the Reichsregiment, an abortive council intended to bring about a federal constitution for the German States within the Empire, to which Oelhafen had been elected secretary. He died in 1539.

Dürer painted his portrait in 1503. The date, together with the sitter's age in that year, appears upon an engraving of mediocre quality by J. A. Böner (1647-1720), which was made either from the original painting or from some copy which had preserved the original inscription. The margins of the example from which Plate IV. is reproduced have undergone a coarse repainting, which has obliterated whatever lettering there may have been at the foot of the panel or upon the background. Apart from this rough handling at the edges the picture is free from retouches, although it has been rubbed down until little more than the underpainting is left. Nevertheless, enough exists to show that the copyist was a draughtsman of great skill. Some passages, especially the mouth and eyes, are so like the work of Dürer's own hand, as to have suggested to some critics that we have here an over-cleaned and skinned original, rather than a copy. The bright red background is a late example of a mode of representation current throughout the fifteenth century. It serves well as a foil to the black of the cap and cloak; the contrast is modified by the brown colour of the fur lining. The sitter's hair is brown likewise, and his complexion somewhat sallow. The total effect is much injured by the clumsy modern gilt lettering which surrounds the head, and a form of mounting has therefore been adopted for this plate which permits the almost Holbein-like reserve and suavity of composition to be appreciated, although the original proportions of the panel are thereby sacrificed. The wording of the present inscription cannot be contemporaneous with the painting of the picture in 1503; Oelhafen did not acquire the estate of Schöllnbach until 1512. A writer in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* was perhaps on that account induced to state that the portrait was painted in 1513. The at present unintelligible series of Roman numerals on the background may have read MDXIII. before they were last regilt. This date is contradicted by that which appears on Böner's print, and by the inscription on a second version of the portrait which is described below.

<sup>1</sup> See *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit*, 1877, p. 242, for a long list of the wedding guests and their gifts (chiefly "Becher und Rinnglein"). Towards the end, among the humbler folk, appear the names of Anthonj Koburger, Doctor Pewtinger, and the "Rosentalerin."



The original of our reproduction is preserved in the picture gallery of the University of Würzburg. It was previously in the Hartmann gallery in that city, and appears in inventories of 1799 and 1834 attributed to Lucas Cranach. A second version was in the Derschau collection, and was offered for sale in 1825 at Nuremberg. It bore the following inscription in the space underneath the sitter's hand:—

SIXTUS OELHAFEN SEN. AETAT. SUAE 37.  
A° 1503.

This date appeared also on the background to the right, together with Dürer's monogram. The picture was on a wooden panel, and measured  $18\frac{1}{2}$  by  $14\frac{1}{2}$  in. According to a priced catalogue in the British Museum library the painting found no purchaser, and its present whereabouts is unknown to me.

S. M. P.

## DRAWINGS.

### V.

#### DÜRER. The Story of the Dead Father and his Three Sons.

*Collotype from the pen and ink drawing (24-19.8 by 21.8 cm.;  $9\frac{1}{2}$ -7 $\frac{3}{4}$  by  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in.) in the Kunsthalle, Bremen (Ephr. 89, 91).*



HE subject of the drawing, one of repeated occurrence in the graphic art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is derived from an Indian tale. After the death of a rich man, his three sons had a dispute about the inheritance. They finally called upon the prince of the country to arbitrate, and he ordained that they should shoot at the corpse of their father; he who shot best was to be the heir. While the elder sons obeyed this order, the youngest could not find it in his heart to do so; he threw down his bow and arrows and declined to take any part in the inhuman competition. The wise prince, of course, assigned the disputed inheritance to him as the most deserving. This story is told in our drawing clearly enough, although with hasty strokes. In front, on the right, the prince is seen on horseback with two attendants. He is about to pronounce the judgment, with his right hand raised, while the youth kneeling before him has just exclaimed, "I cannot do it." In the background, to the left, we see the two unfilial sons, one of whom is just aiming with the bow.

The sketch belongs to the group of drawings by Dürer, originally in the imperial collection at Vienna, which was detached from the unrivalled set of treasures now in the Albertina, and passed through the Andreossi, Grünling, and Klugkist Collections to the Kunsthalle at Bremen, where it has been since 1851. This is decidedly not one of the most valuable drawings of the group. Lippmann and others who have worked at Dürer, with the single exception of M. Charles Ephrussi, have rejected it. But they can hardly be right. Unfortunately I must at once add that I do not in all points agree with Ephrussi; the difference of opinion concerns the date. Ephrussi, who reproduces our drawing on a small scale on p. 91 of his work on Dürer's drawings, connects it, in a note on p. 89, with the outline drawing of the Crucifixion, of 1502, at Basel. Apart from the question of the genuineness of the Basel composition, that is the more surprising, inasmuch as he quotes along with it another pen drawing which unquestionably stands much nearer to our sketch, the Three Landsknechts of 1489 (L. 2) in the Berlin Cabinet. Many proofs of awkwardness and defective drawing (for instance, the clumsy horses, the ill-drawn faces of the landsknecht and of the upper rider on the left) forbid us to ascribe this work to so sure a draughtsman as Dürer already was in 1502. On the other hand, we find many features that remind us of the early works to be dated not much after 1490; for instance, the round eyes and the peg-shaped formation of the nose when the head is drawn in full face. The king's horse is of the same breed as the awkward, wooden-looking nags in the group of riders of 1489 in the Bremen Kunsthalle (L. 100). The costume of the persons represented does not contradict, to say the least of it, so early a date. It must be owned that the technique of our drawing is more caligraphic and apparently more sure than that of the remaining works of Dürer's youth, some of which have been published for the first time by the Dürer Society. Almost all these other drawings, however, are the result of more careful work, either studies from nature, like the Portrait of Himself at Erlangen (D.S. II., 4), or subjects carried out in such detail as to form a complete picture, like the group of riders already mentioned. There is



only one drawing of a similar character, and equally early in date, that I can name, the sketch for a Skirmish between Mounted Men, in the British Museum (D.S. V., 5). The latter, it is true, is a much slighter sketch than the one before us; it enables us, however, in a few strokes to recognize the touch of the same hand (compare the town gates in the two sketches, and the lines with which the foliage of the trees is suggested).

The drawing is imperfectly preserved. It is disfigured by damp stains, and a piece at the top has been torn off. The lines at the top on the left seem to belong to the drapery of the dead father. There is no watermark.

G. P.

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VI.

DÜRER. Calvary.

*Collotype from the pen and ink drawing (21.2 by 21.4 cm., 8½ by 8⅜ in.) in the Städelsches Institut, Frankfurt am Main.*

This drawing, omitted by Lippmann, was published by Ephrussi, p. 101, as a study for the woodcut, B. 59, to which it bears only a superficial resemblance. It is really a sketch for the more finished drawing, now at Basel, from which the central portion of the altar-piece at Ober St. Veit, near Vienna, was painted in Dürer's studio in 1502. On comparing it with the Basel drawing (photographed by Braun), it will be seen to agree in almost every essential particular with the upper half of that composition, though the treatment of detail is much more summary in the early sketch. The same figures are there, in approximately the same attitudes, with the exception of the angel and devil, who receive the souls of the good and bad thief respectively, in the composition as finally fixed. The landscape in its ultimate form is already suggested by the sketch.

The one detail in which the latter agrees with the woodcut is the action of the man who mounts a ladder on the left armed with a club for the purpose of breaking the legs of the penitent thief. That action is found again in the small sketch at Berlin on the back of a drawing of the Birth of the Virgin (L. 7). It is uncertain whether even the Berlin sketch is really a study for the woodcut; the composition is reversed, as would be natural in such a case, but it contains the man propping up the ladder, who is found in the other group of drawings but not in the woodcut.

Ephrussi has pointed out (p. 102) that the same halberdier with long plumes in his hat occurs both in the Bremen drawing (Plate V.) and in the Frankfurt Crucifixion sketch.

Our reproduction of the latter is, unfortunately, not so sharp as could be desired, owing to a defect in the negative.

C. D.

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VII.

DÜRER. Adam and Eve. 1504. Study for the Engraving, B. 1.

*Collotype from the pen and sepia drawing with sepia wash (24.2 by 20.1 cm., 9½ by 7⅞ in.) in the Collection of Adalbert, Ritter von Lanna, Prague. L. 173 (Ephr. 70-72).*

The most finished of the extant studies for the general composition of the engraving. This and three other drawings from the same collection in the present portfolio have been reproduced from the originals by special permission of the owner.

C. D.

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VIII.

DÜRER. Various studies for the figure of Adam in the Engraving, B. 1.

*Collotype from the pen and sepia drawing (21.6 by 27.4 cm., 8½ by 10¾ in.) in the British Museum, from the Sloane Collection. L. 234.*

Towards the upper left corner of the sheet, a study for the throat, left shoulder, and left arm holding a staff. A little lower, near the middle, a study of the extended right arm with the hand holding an apple and part of the body. Below this, an enlarged study of the action of the same right hand,



empty. Farther towards the right, on a still larger scale, a study of the entire arm from the shoulder, including the hand with the apple held in it. More to the right again, two other studies of the empty hand. At the bottom, towards the left, a sketch of precipitous rocks partly wooded. At the top, the monogram of the artist. The landscape study is partly in sepia and partly in a bluish black ink.

There is no more interesting study for the detail of an engraving in the whole work of Dürer.

C. D.

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IX.

DÜRER. Head of a Man, clean-shaven, looking to the right.

*Collotype from the pen and ink drawing (31 by 19.2 cm., 12½ by 7½ in.) in the Kunsthalle, Bremen.*

The drawing bears a monogram, but that is a circumstance to which I will not attach too much importance; the signature may possibly be a forgery, although the ink looks very like that of the drawing itself. It is not difficult to imitate a few letters, but it is much harder to arrive at the movement of the line in such a drawing. This is where every stroke proclaims Dürer's master hand. In fact, I think I am hardly saying too much if I assert that this head is one of the very best things of its kind. The few strokes may represent the work of ten minutes, but every one of them has something to express. It is astonishing, moreover, how the balance is kept between energy of expression and calligraphic elegance.

It is a rough fellow—a "pewrischer Mann"—of about thirty years of age, that Dürer has induced to sit in a chair for a few moments, to make a record of his rugged features, which tell more of muscular exertion than of brain work. The man is sitting, and the artist has looked at him from a short distance and slightly from above. We learn so much from the three strokes which characterise the left shoulder and the opening of the jerkin. For anyone who knows Dürer's drawings no argument is needed, in my opinion, to justify this attribution. But if an answer must be given to the questions, why? and how? I would only point to the masterly drawing of the ear and the indication of the cap with its little tuft on the crown of the head, and of the lock of hair, put in with a couple of strokes, on the temple. Is there anyone else but Dürer capable of doing this?

When may the study have been made? It is, perhaps, not too bold a conjecture if we connect it with the proportion studies and exercises in physiognomy on which Dürer was engaged during a great part of his life. Comparison with other pen and ink drawings led me to fix on the years 1512-1517.

The drawing has hitherto remained unpublished. I found it a few years ago on the back of a very feeble South German pen drawing of a standard-bearer. It is not derived, like the other Dürer drawings at Bremen, from the Klugkist collection, but from the valuable Albers Collection, which came to the Kunsthalle as a legacy from the owner in 1855. It has no watermark.

G. P.

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X.

UNKNOWN ARTIST. Two Studies of a Nude Woman.

*Collotype from the silver-point drawing on light cream-coloured prepared paper (33.5 by 22.3 cm., 13½ by 8½ in.), in the British Museum, from the Reynolds, Lawrence, and Malcolm Collections (L. 92., Ephr. 142).*

The same figure is drawn in two different positions, in the first case in profile, in the second turned two-thirds to the left and looking into a small, round mirror held in the right hand. The second figure has been retouched about the hips with the pen, to reinforce both outline and shading.

The attribution of this admirable drawing to Dürer is by no means certain, and it is difficult to find a parallel in his work for the treatment of the nude, the great delicacy and sharpness of the silver-point line, or the method of indicating shadow behind the face in profile. The old attribution, recorded on the back, was to Mantegna. The drawing does not seem to have gone by Dürer's name when in the Lawrence Collection; it was not included, at any rate, in Woodburn's exhibition of the



Lawrence Dürers in 1836, or in the sale of Lawrence's Dürer collection as a whole for £800 in the same year. It appears, however, under the name of Dürer as No. 336 in the catalogue of Woodburn's sale of the remaining Lawrence drawings in 1860, along with one other Dürer (No. 337, A Head of a Man, singing—black chalk) which had also escaped the sale of 1836. The attribution to Hans Baldung, proposed by some modern critics, meets the difficulties of the case no better. The drawing is kept under Dürer's name at the British Museum pending a more general agreement as to its authorship. A very similar figure to the one on the left is seen in a Temptation of St. Anthony, dated 1521, in the Albertina, L. 576.

C. D.

The doubts, to which Mr. Dodgson has given expression in the above note, encourage me to propose an entirely new attribution for this drawing. The treatment of the nude, while still northern in its essential features, suggests that the artist's ideal of form had been subjected to that degree of Italian influence, which is displayed by the painters of Antwerp and Brussels towards the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. A signed drawing by Dirick Vellert<sup>1</sup> (more familiar under his old incorrect name of Dirk van Star), an Antwerp painter of this period, shows a somewhat close resemblance to the British Museum silverpoint, in the character and treatment of the female figure. Still closer is the likeness shown by our drawing to certain sculptures by Conrad Meyt, an artist of South German or Swiss origin, working in Brabant at the time of Dürer's visit to the Netherlands. These are, principally, an alabaster statuette of Judith with the head of Holofernes, in the Bavarian National Museum at Munich, and a boxwood figure of Eve belonging to the Ducal Museum at Gotha. In these cases, the resemblance is not confined to a general conception of form; certain portions of the figures when placed in the necessary profile position show an identical outline. Such are, more especially, the breasts and left arm of the Judith, and the profile view of Eve's face. The Gotha statuette shows, in fact, a general resemblance throughout the entire figure, modified only by the different action of the left hand.

The amazing precision and detail, coupled with the great delicacy of modelling, of Meyt's work seem to find an echo in the similar qualities of these studies, and incline me to believe that we may, perhaps, possess in them that extremely rare thing, a drawing by a sculptor of the early Renaissance.

Dürer himself makes frequent and friendly reference to "Meister Conradum" in his Netherlands Diary, praising him highly,<sup>2</sup> eating with him on many occasions, and taking his portrait, at least, twice over. It is therefore possible that Dürer should have made a drawing from some completed work of the sculptor's which had attracted his attention. If we suppose him to have done this, without introducing any indication of his own personal feeling, or habits of draughtsmanship, into the work, the similarity of forms would be accounted for. Such objective delineation is, however, very foreign to Dürer's methods, especially at so late a date, and the technique, moreover, shows no recognizable trace of his hand.

Some particulars of Conrad Meyt's career and productions may be found in the *Jahrbuch der königl. preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1901, Vol. XXII., p. iv.

S. M. P.

## XI.

### DÜRER. A Turkish Woman.

*Collotype from the pen and ink drawing (180 by 105 cm., 7½ by 4½ in.) in the Ambrosiana, Milan.*

The same head is drawn a second time towards the left with an alternative headdress. The head in this form appears among the group of women below the Cross in the outline engraving of the Crucifixion, attributed to Dürer by Sandrart, but now discredited and generally regarded as a compilation by a later hand (Jaro Springer in *Jahrbuch d. k. preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, viii., 63). Thausing (Eng. Tr., i., 341) attributes the drawing to the time of Dürer's second visit to Venice. It may well be later, but must be placed before 1515, when it served as a model to Hans Dürer for one of his marginal drawings in the Besançon portion of the Prayer-book of Maximilian I.

C. D.

<sup>1</sup> It represents a nude "Bademagd" (i.e., a female bath-attendant), and belongs to the Louvre; it is illustrated in G. Glück's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Antwerpener Malerei im XVI. Jahrhundert*, p. 26, fig. 13.

<sup>2</sup> "Den guten Bildschnitzer, . . . desgleichen ich keinen gesehen hab."



XII.

DÜRER. The Rape of a Young Woman. First design for the Etching of 1516. B. 72 (Pl. 24).

*Collotype from the pen drawing (25.1 by 20.3 cm., 9 $\frac{7}{8}$  by 8 in.) in the collection of Adalbert, Ritter von Lanna, Prague.*

Instead of the unicorn of the etching, with its shaggy legs and cloven hoofs, the first design has an ordinary horse, which is plunging away from a scene of carnage, of which in the finished composition, no trace remains. Beneath the horse lie the victims of some desperate fight; the contorted body of a woman, a man lying face upwards, the legs of another body, and a severed head lying face downwards. The rider and his shrieking victim differ hardly at all in the sketch and the finished work; the action of the beast remains the same. There is no hint of the supernatural. In the etching the uncanny steed, plunging in its wild career towards a steep fall to the lake, tells us that this is no event of ordinary human experience; the clouds hanging so low that they rest upon the bushes add to the eeriness of the scene, as they do in the engraving of Nemesis. The man is made a little nearer to the brute.

Dr. Gustav Pauli, who first published the drawing in 1900 (*Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N. F. xi., 112), defends its originality with scrupulous foresight against several possible objections. He has good answers ready for anyone who should suggest that it was a forgery, a drawing by another hand, or merely the copy of a genuine drawing by Dürer. As a matter of fact its genuineness, in every sense, has not to my knowledge been impugned.

C. D.

XIII., XIV.

DÜRER. Two Pages from the Prayer-book of the Emperor Maximilian I. 1515.

*Facsimiles, printed in colours, from the portion of the book preserved in the Munich Library (Cim. V., a. 2). One of the selected designs contains St. Apollonia, the other a column resembling the woodcut, B. 129. These specimens of a forthcoming complete facsimile are presented to the Dürer Society by Dr. Karl Giehlow.*

The famous volume which has been known for the greater part of a century as the Prayer-book of Maximilian I. is divided between the public libraries of Munich and Besançon. The former contains the more important fragment, adorned with marginal drawings by Albrecht Dürer and Lucas Cranach; the decorations of the Besançon portion are by Albrecht Altdorfer,<sup>1</sup> Hans Baldung, Jörg Breu, Hans Burgkmair, and Hans Dürer, brother of the more celebrated Albrecht. The Munich and Besançon portions, if reunited, would not amount to a complete copy of the book; some sheets have been lost, unhappily, from the Besançon fragment, and there is reason to believe that these contained additional drawings by Hans Dürer, if not by other artists.

The attention of the earlier writers on Dürer was concentrated on the Munich portion. The drawings by Dürer himself have been repeatedly reproduced since 1808, when the first edition of Strixner's lithographs, which omit the text, was published with the title, *Albrecht Dürer's Christlich Mythologische Handzeichnungen*. All the later reproductions, whether lithographic or photo-mechanical, fall very far short of the standard of completeness and accuracy which the modern perfection of facsimile processes imposes. The most satisfactory rendering of the drawings themselves, that of Hirth (1883), again omitted the text, which an intermediate publication had included. The drawings by Cranach were reproduced by lithography in 1818 and were included, with those by Dürer, in Hirth's publication. Thausing's attribution of this set to Springinklee is absolutely unjustified.

The Besançon fragment came to light in 1879. Its true relation to the Munich book was not immediately recognized, but the discovery, made by Bayersdorfer and confirmed by Schestag, that the two portions belonged to the same imperfect copy, was embodied in an essay by Chmelarz,<sup>2</sup> published

<sup>1</sup> According to the generally received opinion, which has been, however, recently disputed by Dr. Röttinger (*Repertorium f. Kunstw.*, XXVI., 328). Dr. Giehlow, also, no longer attributes to Altdorfer the drawings at Besançon which bear his monogram.

<sup>2</sup> Das Diurnale oder Gebetbuch des Kaisers Maximilian I., *Jahrbuch d. kunsth. Samml. d. Allerh. Kaiserhauses*, III., 88.



in 1885 and accompanied by reproductions, neither satisfactory nor complete, of the illustrated pages. Chmelarz adhered to the traditional opinion, strongly upheld by Thausing, that this specially illustrated copy of the book was intended for the personal use of the Emperor; that it was itself, when the drawings were completed, a finished work of art, and destined for no ulterior purpose; and that the plain and unadorned copies of the book, of which four are known to exist,<sup>1</sup> were merely by-products or proofs, marking a stage in the completion of the unique and magnificent book of devotions.

A flood of light was shed upon the subject by a more recent essay,<sup>2</sup> published in the Vienna *Jahrbuch* by a member of our Society, Dr. Karl Giehlow, who has devoted years of study to the literary and artistic schemes of Maximilian and his circle. I cannot do more than briefly summarize a few of the main results of his investigations, without entering into the arguments by which his conclusions are supported. The drawings themselves and the various copies of the book have undergone a minute examination, and the evidence which they yield has been supplemented by documents bearing directly on the Prayer-book and interpreted in the light of a knowledge of the period, and especially of the Emperor's own aims and methods, far more thorough than any of the earlier commentators possessed.

The Prayer-book may still retain its traditional name in the sense that Maximilian superintended every detail of its production, and was actually author of many of the prayers that it contains. But the opinion that it was intended for his private use, and that all the pains bestowed upon it were devoted to the production of a single copy, must be abandoned. The printed Diurnale was evolved out of an earlier MS. prayer-book, now at Vienna, with illuminations of the Flemish school, the earlier part of which was written about 1486, the date of Maximilian's election as King of the Romans, while successive prayers were added by different scribes at later periods. The book is throughout of an intimate character, and reflects the Emperor's personal experiences. The points in which it differs from the printed book bear witness to the different end which the latter was intended to serve.

The project of a printed prayer-book seems to have arisen about 1508, the date of the Emperor's coronation, and of his scheme for a crusade against the Turks. It was then that he appointed Schönsperger his printer with a salary for life, and that he ordered Vincent Rockner to make the experiments in typography which resulted in the new fount used in the Diurnale and Theuerdank. Maximilian was keenly interested about this time in the revival and extension of the Military Order of St. George, founded by his father, Frederick III., and intended especially to engage in warfare against the infidels on the eastern border of the empire. The definitely religious order of crowned knights had numerous lay confraternities of St. George associated with it. It was for the use of this order and of these confraternities that Maximilian directed the Prayer-book to be printed, and it was to be issued in two forms, an *édition de luxe* in folio, printed with a special type on vellum for the more distinguished knights, several of whom were reigning princes, and a quarto edition printed with ordinary type on paper for members of the confraternities. "Gebeetbuechl, ain ordinarij, das ander extraordinarij" is an entry in a note-book of Maximilian's, in which he recorded his projects, dating from about the time of his coronation. A copy of the small or ordinary edition, without date or place of printing, is in the Hofbibliothek, Vienna. The contents are almost identical with those of the large edition. The additions common to both, and wanting in the older MS., are peculiarly appropriate to a military order in whose statutes regularity in devotion was expressly inculcated.<sup>3</sup> Especially significant is the insertion of the Office of the Holy Cross, and of prayers to certain saints all associated with the projected crusade. St. George, patron of the order, is the only saint to whom more than one prayer is addressed.

The printing of the book did not make such rapid progress as the Emperor desired. In 1513, a few days after the Battle of the Spurs, he wrote to demand ten prayer-books. All that Peutinger was able to send him was "Ein Muster auf pirment," a specimen on vellum. Schönsperger pleaded that his presses were unequal to the work. The colophon of the book gives the date December 30th, 1514, though the usage of the time justifies a doubt whether the end of 1513 was not the date actually meant. Even then it was far from being finished. The greater number of red initials in Sir Thomas Brooke's copy show that further progress was made with its completion after that date, and all the copies have

<sup>1</sup> In the Hofbibliothek, Vienna, the British Museum, the Vatican, and the library of Sir Thomas Brooke, Bart., of Armitage Bridge, Huddersfield, all on vellum. The book contains a colophon, stating that it was printed at Augsburg by Hans Schönsperger on December 30th, 1514. All the extant copies differ from one another as regards the order of the prayers, the forms of the letters used in certain places, and the number of the ornamental red initials. M. Poëte has called Dr. Giehlow's attention to the Vatican copy (Membr., III., 13) since the publication of the essay quoted below. It is the copy presented by the Emperor Maximilian to Conrad Peutinger, according to an inscription in the latter's hand. Though a printed book, it is described in H. Ehrensberger's *Libri Liturgici Bibl. Apost. Vaticanae Manuscripti*, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Gebetbuches Kaisers Maximilian I. *Jahrbuch*, XX. (1899).

<sup>3</sup> "Militares fratres sancti Georgii quam attentissime singulis diebus divinis intersint, nec, quantumvis eis imminet negotium, ad alia quam divina eo tempore eorum mens feratur" (quoted by Faber).



blank pages at the beginning, destined to receive that essential part of a prayer-book, the calendar. Indeed, the calendar was really the main cause of the delay. A draft of it exists, composed by Manlius, and inscribed, "Dies ist der Kalender sant Joergen orden," which cannot be earlier than 1518, so that even then the form was not definitely sanctioned. The reason of the delay is explained by a note of the Emperor's, which states that he had to send the calendar to Rome to obtain the Pope's sanction for the insertion of various beatified, but not canonized, members of his ancestry. The papal sanction was, in fact, given, but not till after Maximilian's death, when the printing project had fallen wholly into abeyance. A ratified copy of the calendar exists at the Monastery of St. Paul in Carinthia, described in the introduction as "Calendarium contextum per universam religionem militaris ordinis sancti Georgii observandum."

Without this calendar the book cannot have been issued, and the existing copies, with their blank leaves, must have been retained by the printer as imperfect, despite the colophon, until they found purchasers after Maximilian's death and that of Schönsperger himself in the same year.

And now we come to the purpose of the marginal drawings. They have been exalted almost to the very end-all and be-all of the book. In the new light which Dr. Giehlow has thrown upon the history of the Prayer-book, they can only be regarded as another proof of its incompleteness. There can be no doubt that in accordance with the custom of the period, as shown by the French *livres d'heures* and the numerous German editions of the *Hortulus Animæ*, the *édition de luxe* of the prayer-book of the knights of St. George was intended to have woodcut borders to its pages. At the beginning of 1515, when the text of the book itself, calendar apart, was actually printed, Maximilian or his adviser at Augsburg, Conrad Peutinger, acting for him, sent out a copy, in loose sheets, divided into various parcels, which were distributed among the leading draughtsmen on wood of the day, the largest share falling to Dürer, who was assisted, busy as he was with his preparations for the Triumphal Arch, by his brother Hans. It was in accordance with Maximilian's usual practice to have a finished drawing in colours of every one of his projected woodcut publications prepared for his approval, before the actual drawing on the blocks was commenced.<sup>1</sup> The most natural place for such a coloured drawing in this case would be on the margins of the book itself, so that the Emperor could judge of the effect of the designs *in situ*. He evidently wished this trial copy to be prepared with the utmost speed, in order that the printing might be carried to its conclusion as soon as the long looked-for calendar should come back authorized from Rome. But there is no evidence that any progress was made with the cutting or even with the transference of the designs to wood. Like all the Emperor's literary projects, except Theuerdank and the Triumphal Arch, the projected Prayer-book of the Order of St. George remained abortive at his death. The "gebeetbuechl ordinarij," or cheaper quarto edition, was also evidently intended to have woodcuts, not surrounding the text, but inserted in it. The copy existing at Vienna has blank spaces which can be explained in no other way.

The "gebeetbuechl extraordinarij" is destined, we may hope at no distant date, to the long-deferred honour of an adequate publication. Dr. Giehlow has devoted much of his time and industry for years past to superintending the preparation of a facsimile of the entire book, including not only the Munich and Besançon drawings, but also the whole of the unornamented pages. The publication has been subsidized by the Austrian and Prussian Governments, but the expense incurred has, notwithstanding, been very large, and the price of the book will necessarily be high. I hope that English admirers of Dürer, and members of our Society in particular, will help to give the enterprise the success that it deserves. The specimens included in this portfolio by the gift of Dr. Giehlow show with what exactitude in matters of detail the work is being carried out. Attention may be specially called to a peculiarity of the present reproductions. In the completed facsimile, as in the original book, the type will show through from the other side of the leaf. These specimens, being printed without text on the back, would lack that high degree of verisimilitude if Dr. Giehlow had not supplied it by the use of a special lithographic plate, printed in grey, which renders the desired effect with amazing accuracy.

C. D.

## XV.

### DÜRER. St. Jerome in his Study.

*Collotype from the pen and sepia drawing (20.2 by 12.5 cm., 7 $\frac{7}{8}$  by 5 in.) in the collection of Adalbert, Ritter von Lanna, Prague. L. 175.*

The drawing looks like a design for a woodcut.

<sup>1</sup> A good instance of such a drawing is in London: the water-colour study, in reverse to the woodcut, for the Great Column, already mentioned (B. 129). Neither the study nor the finished drawing on the block can be attributed, in this case, to Dürer himself, who probably supplied an original pen and ink sketch from which the coloured drawing was elaborated by an assistant.



XVI.

DÜRER. A Group of Naked Men: Study for part of a composition of the Last Judgment. 1526.

*Collotype from the pen and ink drawing (18.5 by 19.5 cm., 7¼ by 7¾ in.) in the collection of Adalbert, Ritta von Lanna, Prague.*

The drawing, not published by Lippmann, has been described by Thausing (*Dürer*, 2te Auflage, 1884, ii., 289, with a reproduction), and mentioned by Jaro Springer (*Jahrbuch d. k. preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, viii., 66). It was then in the collection of Dr. Gustav Jurié at Vienna. Thausing conjectured that the Last Judgment might have been designed for the centre of an altar-piece of which the so-called Four Apostles were to form the wings.

C. D.

XVII.

DÜRER. Christ with Rod and Scourge in his hands. 1522.

*Collotype from the drawing with the lead-point (40.8 by 29 cm., 16 by 11⅝ in.) in the Kunsthalle, Bremen (Ephr. 316, L. 131).*

Dürer concerned himself repeatedly with representing the Passion of Christ, and the last time that he did so was at the climax of his life and of his fame, after his return from the Netherlands. We perceive from a series of carefully executed studies on paper with a green ground, dated 1522 and 1523, that he was then planning a great picture of the Crucifixion. He never carried out his project, but some of his most precious works, the incomparable picture of the Four Apostles, at Munich, and three engravings (B. 46, 47, 49) appear to be the outcome of these preliminary studies.

The drawing here reproduced belongs to this group of subjects, though not actually to the studies for the Crucifixion. The figure of the Man of Sorrows, holding rod and scourge in his crossed hands, is derived from the Catholic devotional pictures, while it is one of those which were frequently repeated by painters who inclined towards Protestantism. Dürer has employed a muscular model, evidently hardened by work, whom we recognize again, if I am not mistaken, in the drawing of the Crucified Christ, of 1523, at Paris (L. 328). In both cases we observe the sinewy limbs, the rather sunken chest, the high brow.

The technique of our drawing, which passed from the Grünling and Klugkist Collections into the Kunsthalle, is the same as in the afore-mentioned studies, except that a soft lead-point here takes the place of black chalk. The white chalk with which the high lights were put on has almost disappeared, leaving only a few traces.

G. P.

A rare mezzotint engraving by Caspar Doms (Heller 2269?) reproduces a lost picture by Dürer, dated 1523, in which the half-length figure of the Man of Sorrows was evidently founded on the present drawing. A negro in a turban is introduced at the side of the principal figure. The engraving is dated 1659 and bears the arms of the Elector of Mainz, in which city the picture was preserved at that time. The engraving is reproduced on p. 62 of Dr. Valentin Scherer's *Dürer* (Klassiker der Kunst, iv. Stuttgart, 1904).

C. D.

ENGRAVINGS.

XVIII.

DÜRER. The Standard Bearer. B. 87.

*Photogravure from an impression in the British Museum.*



EMBLEMS of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece, a St. Andrew's Cross of rough-hewn wood, with flint and steel striking sparks, are displayed on the standard. These emblems, which belonged to Maximilian as Duke of Burgundy, are constantly found in contemporary illustrations of his wars on standards borne by the imperial troops. The engraving has been dated as early as 1499, but it is usually assigned, with more probability, to the first years of the sixteenth century. It stands as No. 26 in Koehler's chronological catalogue, where the dated engravings of 1503 are Nos. 29 and 30.

C. D.



XIX.

DÜRER. The Offer of Love. B. 93.

*Photogravure from an impression in the British Museum.*

There have been many speculations about the subject of this print, but we need not search for anything more recondite than an illustration of mercenary love. The infatuation of an old man for a girl, or an old woman for a lad, moved many a German artist of Durer's time to a jest or a sermon, and the purse plays always an important part in the wooing.

The work is very early, as is proved by the form of the monogram with its pointed A, in which a Roman D has succeeded the small Gothic d of a still more primitive signature. Koehler places this engraving fourth in order of date.

C. D.

XX.

DÜRER. Adam and Eve. 1504. B. 1.

*Photogravure from an impression of the first state in the British Museum.*

Dürer summed up in this masterly engraving the result of those studies of human proportion which had been occupying him since the turn of the century. There are numerous drawings indirectly connected with this composition, and often described compendiously as "the Apollo group," from their connection, on the one hand, with the Apollo Belvedere, and on the other with the drawing of Apollo and Diana in the British Museum. In addition to these, there are four direct studies for the engraving (*Ephrussi*, p. 70), viz., drawings of Adam and Eve separately, with proportion schemes on the back, in the Albertina (L. 475, 476); Eve alone, in the University Galleries, Oxford (L. 393); a sheet of studies for the arm and hand of Adam, with a sketch of rocks for the background, in the British Museum (L. 234); and, lastly, the drawing of Adam and Eve together, dated 1504, and closely akin to the engraving, in the Lanna Collection at Prague (L. 173). The last two are reproduced in the present portfolio for comparison with the engraving.



FIRST TRIAL PROOF. BRITISH MUSEUM.



SECOND TRIAL PROOF. ALBERTINA.

With the exception of "The Great Satyr" (B. 73), this is the only engraving by Dürer of which trial proofs have been preserved. Three early proofs of the "Adam and Eve" exist, showing the plate in two stages of its progress. Of the earliest unfinished stage, in which Adam's right leg only is shaded, two proofs exist in the Albertina and the British Museum; the latter (much damaged) is reproduced here on a small scale, along with the unique second trial proof, in the Albertina, in



which both legs are shaded.<sup>1</sup> They show Dürer's method of working; he commenced with an outline and filled it in methodically, working up each portion to complete finish before attacking the next. After the plate was finished, and many impressions had been printed, a second state was created by an alteration in the stem of the tree just below Adam's left armpit, introducing a dark cleft in the bark.

C. D.

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XXI.

DÜRER. The Nativity. 1504. B. 2.

*Photogravure from an impression in the British Museum.*

Dürer refers to this engraving in his Netherlands journal, among half-sheet engravings presented to the Portuguese factor, by the name of "Die Weihnachten," or "Christmas." It is unique in his engraved work as regards the small scale of the figures. In feeling, and in the architectural forms, it recalls the Uffizi picture of the same date and the early woodcuts of the Life of the Virgin.

C. D.

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XXII.

DÜRER. St. Thomas. 1514. B. 48.

*Photogravure from an impression in the British Museum.*

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XXIII.

DÜRER. St. Paul. 1514. B. 50.

*Photogravure from an impression in the British Museum.*

These are the two earliest numbers of a series of the Apostles, which Dürer took up again in later years, adding, in 1523, St. Simon and St. Bartholomew, and in 1526 St. Philip; the set, however, remained incomplete.

Herr von Lanna possesses two pen drawings of St. Paul, which probably represent alternative ideas for the engraving (L. 176, 177). In the first St. Paul has a sword in his right hand, and an open book held downwards in his left hand. The second design was followed almost without alteration in the engraving.

C. D.

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XXIV.

DÜRER. The Rape of a Young Woman. Etching. 1516. B. 72.

*Photogravure from an impression in the British Museum.*

The subject has never been explained; the rape of Proserpine by Pluto and that of Deianeira by Nessus are among the unsatisfactory conjectures. The unicorn, which constantly figures in mediæval and renaissance art as an emblem of chastity, may also be a symbol of incontinence; Leonardo da Vinci, for example, gives it that interpretation in a MS. note quoted in full by Mr. Sidney Colvin in his publication of the Oxford drawings, Part I., No. 4. Such an interpretation seems to be required in the case before us.

This is the last but one of Dürer's six etchings on iron plates. For an account of the first design for this print see No. XII.

C. D.

<sup>1</sup> A still earlier proof, in which both figures are said to be entirely in outline, is mentioned by the Rev. C. H. Middleton-Wake in his *Catalogue of the Engraved Work of Albert Dürer, "The Prints arranged in the Order of their Execution."* (Cambridge, 1893), p. 11, No. 38. As Mr. Koehler has observed (p. 38) "he does not name the collection where it is to be found." In reply to a recent enquiry, Mr. Middleton-Wake has been so courteous as to inform me (August 30th, 1905) that he is unable to find any record of having seen such a proof, and that he thinks it probable that his conclusion as to the states of the print may have been derived from Thausing's description (*Dürer, Eng. Tr.*, i., 305, note). The latter is a little obscure in its wording; the later trial proof being mentioned before the earlier, the proof which ought to be called the first, in which both Adam's legs are white, is actually called the second. But there is nothing in the note to warrant the conclusion that three kinds of trial proofs exist. Two proofs are described, of which the earlier exists in duplicate. Till a well authenticated example of the alleged proof with the figures in outline is placed on record, it is advisable that nothing more be said about it.



## WOODCUTS.

### XXV.

DÜRER. Hercules. B. 127.

*From an impression in the British Museum.*



NO satisfactory explanation has been found for the title "Ercules" given by Dürer himself to this composition. The introduction of such a title within the frame of the woodcut itself is extremely unusual at this period. The source which he or his humanist friends consulted for the deeds of the hero remains to be discovered. Most of us may be content to shut our eyes to the literary problem, and simply admire one of the finest and most romantic of Dürer's great fifteenth century series of woodcuts.

C. D.

### XXVI.

DÜRER. St. Michael and his Angels fighting with the Dragon. B. 72.

*From the copy of the German edition of the Apocalypse, 1498, in the British Museum.*

### XXVII.

DÜRER. The Trinity. 1511. B. 122.

*From the impression in the Dresden Cabinet, formerly in the Cornill d'Orville Collection.*

### XXVIII.

DÜRER. The Arms of Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia.  
B. 155. On the back, the Dedication of Dürer's Book on  
Fortification to the King. 1527.

*Collotype from impressions in the British Museum.*

On a large shield, quarterly, the Arms of Bohemia (1, 4) and Hungary (2, 3); on an inescutcheon the Arms of Austria, Burgundy (old and new), Brabant, and Spain (Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, and Granada); over all a second inescutcheon with the Eagle of Tyrol and Lion of Flanders. The large shield is surmounted by a royal crown and surrounded by the Collar of the Golden Fleece. The Fleece itself is cut on a separate block and the link which connects it with the Collar is on a third block. On either side of the Fleece is printed the title of the book.

The dedication to King Ferdinand is taken from the very rare first edition of the book, which contains, when complete, the large folded woodcut of the Siege of a Fortress. Those who are curious in such matters may observe that Dürer calls himself in the first edition "Undertenigister," which was corrected in the second edition of the same year to "Untertenigster." The earlier spelling is that of Dürer's original draft of the letter, which is preserved in the second volume of the Sloane Dürer MSS. in the British Museum (Add. 5229). There are several other small differences in the text. A copy of the first edition, unfortunately incomplete, since it lacks the large woodcut, was presented to the British Museum in 1904 by Mr. Mitchell. The woodcut of King Ferdinand's Arms in this copy is coloured; the reproduction of that woodcut was, accordingly, made from a separate leaf in the Museum which contains the woodcut uncoloured and has the text of the first edition on the back. The text being reproduced here from the uncut leaf in the book itself, the sizes of the back and front of our reproduction do not tally, and it is to that slight extent not an exact facsimile of an existing leaf.

C. D.



DÜRER. The Siege of a Fortress. 1527. B. 137.

*Collotype from an impression in the British Museum.*

The woodcut, early impressions of which are somewhat rare, was originally intended to form an integral part of Dürer's work on Fortification, *Etliche underricht, zu befestigung der Stett, Schloß, und flecken*, published in 1527. It appears to have been inserted, however, only in the rare first edition, where it is printed on the same sheet as a list of errata. I have seen but one perfect copy of the book, which was formerly in the Firmin-Didot Collection, and is now the property of Mr. Gustav Mayer; both the large folded woodcut and the Arms on the title-page are coloured in this copy. Mr. Mitchell's copy, as already mentioned, has the coloured cut of the Arms, but has lost the large woodcut at the end. The common edition of the book, issued in the same year, appears never to contain the large cut. The list of errata was naturally suppressed, as the type had been set up afresh and the errata were corrected. It is difficult to conjecture why the large woodcut, which formed so important a feature of the book, was suppressed at the same time. The watermark of impressions which belong to the first edition is a dog smaller than that given by Hausmann (No. 35); the larger watermark is found on ordinary copies.—(C. D., *Catalogue of Woodcuts in the British Museum*, i. 344, 156.)

C. D.

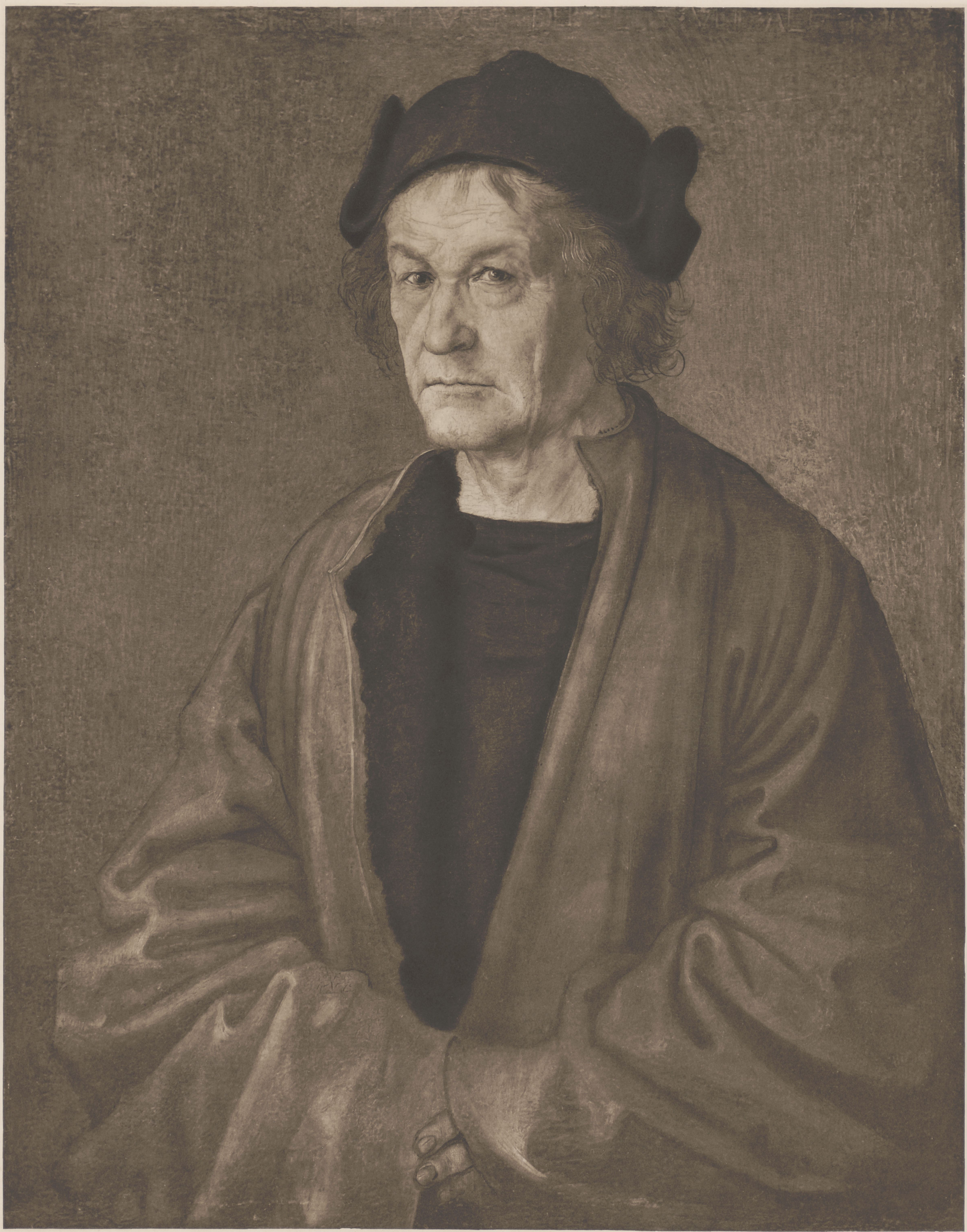


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AND FIVE



MDCCCCV





























VIII. VII. DÜRER. STUDY FOR THE ENGRAVING OF ADAM AND EVE. LANNA COLLECTION, PRAG.  
 VIII. DÜRER. VARIOUS STUDIES FOR ADAM IN THE SAME ENGRAVING. BRITISH MUSEUM.













VIII. XI. DÜRER. A TURKISH WOMAN. AMBROSIANA, MILAN.  
XII. DÜRER. THE RAPE OF A YOUNG WOMAN. LANNA COLLECTION, PRAG.



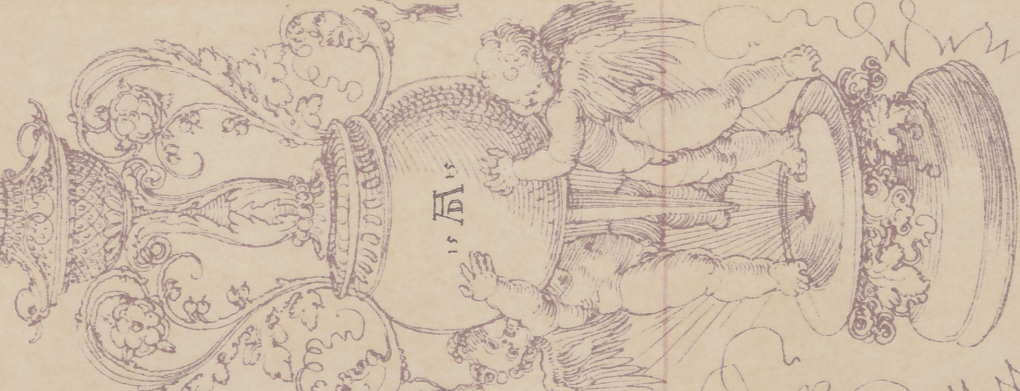
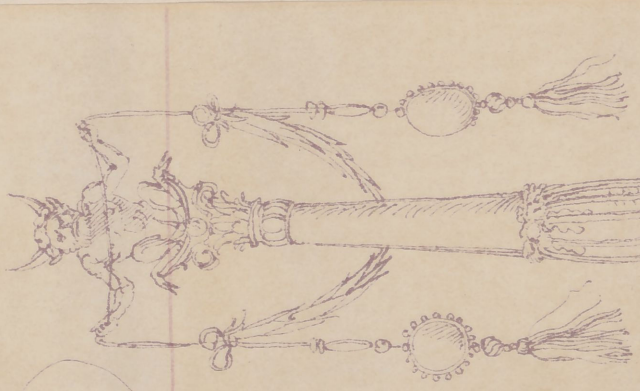
**Psalmus.**

**R**esere mei deus: secū-  
dum magnam miseri-  
cordiam tuam.

Et secundum multitudinem  
miserationum tuarum: dele  
iniquitatem meam.

Amplius scia me ab iniqui-  
tate mea: et a peccato meo mū-  
da me.

Quoniam iniquitatem meā  
ego cognosco: et peccatū meū  
contra me est semper.  
Tibi soli peccaui et malum co-



sacerat: te veneno bis potavit:  
et in plumbō balneavit: pena  
gravis fuerat: penam tuā mi-  
rigavit. Christus cum te visita-  
uit: reclusum in carcere. Sic  
nos saluet a peccatis: ut in te-  
solum beatis: possimus qui-  
escere Amen.

**De sancta Appolonia.**

**Q**uus pro cuius sanctissi-  
mi noīs tui amore: be-  
ata appolonia virgo et mar-  
tir amaram dētūm crucisio-  
nem sustinuit. Oresta quesu-

